1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

some other tribe, the ancient *Caingang* were improvident and consumed their crops as they matured, storing none for the lean months ahead. On the other hand, Horta Barbosa (1913, p. 34) states that maize was as important to them as "wheat for the Europeans." The *Caingang* of the region of San Pedro (Misiones), observed by Ambrosetti (1895, p. 337), opened their clearings in tracts covered with bamboo or sparse bush. They broke the small trees with cudgels or by hand. When the dead trees were dry, they burned them and waited until the beginning of the rainy season for sowing. Women planted crops with digging sticks; they also harvested the crops and carried them home. Men do all the farming in the reservation of Palmas.

In modern groups the tiller of a field is recognized as its exclusive owner; if he dies before harvest, the seedlings are destroyed.

Collecting.—When the *Caingang* were still living in their aboriginal condition, pine nuts of *Araucaria angustifolia*, a tree which has a distribution coinciding more or less with that of the tribe, was fundamental to the native diet. From April to June the Indians gathered in the forests to climb the trees and knock down the ripened fruits, which the women helped to pick up. The climbing technique—also used in getting honey or in robbing birds' nests—was to pass one noose around the feet, another around the tree and the climber's back, and alternately move the two bands up the trunk. The *Aweikoma-Caingang* used only a noose of bamboo strips.

The *Caingang* also collected wild tubers (*Dioscorea* sp.) and a great many wild fruits, such as jaboticaba (*Myrciaria* sp.), pitanga (Myrtaceae sp.), artichi (*Annona montana*), pineapples, papaya (*Carica papaya*), caraguatá (*Bromelia* sp.), etc. The starchy pith of the pindo palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) was formerly an important food item, but today has been supplanted by manioc flour.

Honey and the larvae of bees and especially the larvae of the també beetle, which abound in decayed palm and bamboo trunks, are prized delicacies. It is also reported in some sources that the ancient *Caingang* did not despise snakes or lizards.

Hunting.—The *Caingang* spend a large portion of their time hunting alone or in small parties. The dog, treated by some groups as an indispensable auxiliary, is a recent acquisition. Some *Caingang* groups lacked it as late as 1912. To develop the smelling powers of their dogs, the Indians expose them to the smoke of the burnt skin of the game which they are to stalk. They never give them the bones of game animals to gnaw, taking great precaution lest the game be offended.

An entire band participates in a peccary hunt. Old and young, preceded by dogs, endeavor to drive the animals toward hunters, who shoot them with arrows. The *Aweikoma-Caingang* follow droves

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

When a man dies, his most personal belongings, his bow and arrows and his lance and shirt and baskets, are destroyed. Theoretically everything else is, too, but actually the precious articles acquired from the Brazilians are kept—sometimes with apologies to the ghost. When Kakthí died during the epidemic of 1933 her son-in-law Yakwá could not endure to throw into her grave the beautiful steel knife she had inherited from her husband. So he kept it, and as she lay in her grave he spoke these words to her: "*Nyó*, give me your knife—I am going to make it my own. Protect me from your husband—tell your husband that I took your knife. I have no knife; so I took it. Do not be angry with me. Do not leave me. If I fall ill I will ask you to protect me. I have given you all of your property and taken only the knife."

Every death can be explained in terms of a ghost that has followed the owner of some bit of property that belonged to it while it dwelt in a living body and rapt him away to bear it company. Blankets and, in recent times, clothing are always thrown away, for they have been in close contact with the deceased. Dogs, in spite of their great value, are frequently killed, for "they always used to go around with him" and have become too closely associated with the dead person to make it wholesome for the living to keep them about. Dogs that habitually hunt with large groups of human beings have very diffuse loyalties and will obey almost anyone, so that the death of their owner still does not render them useless. The iron pots are generally abandoned, for to the Kaingáng pots are much more than simple cooking utensils—they are symbols of the living organism,[10] and when death comes much of its affect crystallizes around them. The *thápýa*, the widowed, must eat nothing from a pot until his isolation, his *waikómdag*, is terminated, nor could anyone who had killed a human being eat food cooked in a pot.[11] Thus, at death there is a general revulsion of feeling against those things that have been in close contact with the living, but the most valuable possessions are frequently kept in defiance of the *kuplúng*.[12] Knives, scissors, axes, and nowadays guns are the things most frequently kept, and the "inheritance" of these objects is most frequently within the immediate family, with the husband or the wife taking the greater part.[13] When an object has been "taken," however, its fate is by no means settled. Although Yakwá took Kakthí's knife, a few days later he had handed it over to Vomblé, his mother's brother's son.

But probably the most striking aspect of Kaingáng inheritance is the way

[10] See p. 184. The ancient clay pots were broken.

[11] For the further discussion of ideas and practices associated with death see Appendix III.

[12] Glossary.

[13] This has been inferred from a large number of specific instances collected by going through a hundred cases of inheritance.

252 and the stones covered with pieces of wood and palm leaves (ndõtoiõ), where the chunks of meat are laid with the hide still attached. The whole thing is covered with another layer of palm leaves and a thick layer of earth. The meat cooks slowly in this fashion for about twelve hours, and the flavor it acquires in the process is remarkable.

263 The Botocudo were altogether unfamiliar with salt until the time of peaceful contact, and for a long time thereafter they refused all salted food from us. Even today the older warriors will not accept our food because it is salty.

Not only are they unfamiliar with salt, but they use no seasoning whatever and abhor it in all its forms.

● 231 Their manner of training dogs for the hunt is interesting. Whenever they manage to obtain a dog, they treat it at first with great affection in order to win its faithfulness. The dog is tied with an embira [a bast fiber yielded by various trees--Translator] cord by the side of its new master, who feeds it exclusively on meat in generous and frequent portions. The man spends nearly all his time with the dog; now petting it, now talking in its ear as though to a human being whose complete loyalty were to be won. This in fact he soon achieves, and to such a degree that the dog learns to detest everyone else and becomes watchful in the extreme.

This objective once reached, the lot of the poor dog changes completely: in the course of his wanderings through the forest, the Indian gives it absolutely nothing to eat, thus forcing it to hunt--and not for itself but for its master. Such is the means they use to turn any dog into an excellent hunter. It is a lamentably cruel procedure, and it works against their own interests in the long run, for all their dogs meet the sad fate of gradual emaciation and eventual death by starvation.

232 431 In addition to game, the fruit of the Araucaria constitutes one of their basic foods for a considerable part of the year. During the months of April, May and June the Indians proceed in groups to the pine woods. They scale the trees with the help of a leather strap and a cord of bamboo fiber, which they tie in a loop around the trunk. They place the cord under the armpits and rest their body against it, while their feet are held against the trunk by the leather strap. They climb by alternately lifting the cord while their feet are secure, and